1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20009 (202) 234-5570

Interviews: <u>1,004 registered voters</u> Dates: <u>October 16–18, 2004</u>

> 48 Male 52 Female **[109]**

#### **FINAL**

Study #6048 NBC News/Wall Street Journal October 2004

Please note: all results are shown as percentages unless otherwise stated.

# The margin of error for 1,004 interviews is ±3.1%

Unless otherwise noted by a "+", all previous data shown reflects responses among all adults.

1a. Are you currently registered to vote at this address?

Registered	100	CONTINUE	[138]
Not registered	-	TERMINATE	
Not sure	-		

1b. And did you register to vote within the past twelve months, or have you been registered to vote for longer than that?

	<u>10/04</u> +		<u>9/04</u> +	
Registered within past 12 months	13	CONTINUE	10	[139]
Registered for longer than that	87	Skip to Q.1d	90	
Not sure	-		-	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

# (ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY HAVE REGISTERED WITHIN THE PAST 12 MONTHS IN Q.1b.)

1c. Did you decide to register to vote within the past twelve months because you were not previously eligible to vote, because you were not previously interested in voting, or because you moved or changed your place of residence? +

	<u> 10/04</u> +	<u>9/04</u> +	
Not previously eligible	18	26	[140]
Not previously interested	27	27	
Moved/changed residence	53	NA	
Other (VOL)	2	43	
Not sure	-	4	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

1d. Please tell me how interested you are in the upcoming elections, using a scale from one to ten, on which a ten means that you are very interested in the upcoming elections and a one means that you are not at all interested? You may choose any number from one to ten.

	<u>10/04</u> +	<u>9/04</u> +	<u>8/04</u> +	
10, very interested	74	71	63	[141-142]
9	8	7	10	
8	9	9	12	
7	3	5	6	
6	2	2	2	
5	2	4	4	
4	-	1	1	
3	1	-	-	
2	-	-	1	
1, not at all interested	1	1	1	
Not sure	-	-	-	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

2a. How old are you? (IF "REFUSED," ASK:) Well, would you tell me which age group you belong to? +

18-24	8	50-54	9	[143-144]
25-29	9	55-59	9	
30-34	11	60-64	8	
35-39	7	65-69	5	
40-44	9	70-74	6	
45-49	11	75 and over	7	
		Refused	1	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

2b. When it comes to the upcoming elections, will you definitely vote in person, probably vote in person, probably vote with a mail ballot, absentee ballot, or some other form of early voting, or definitely vote with a mail ballot, absentee ballot, or some other form of early voting? +

	<u>10/04</u> +		<u>9/04</u> +	
Definitely vote in person	80	Skip to Q.3	80	[145]
Probably vote in person	4		6	
Probably vote with mail/			]	
absentee ballot/other early voting	4	CONTINUE	5	
Definitely vote with mail/				
absentee ballot/other early voting	10		7	
Have already voted (VOL)	2		NA	
Depends (VOL)	-	Skip to Q.3	1	
Not sure	-		1	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

# (ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY WILL VOTE WITH A MAIL, ABSENTEE BALLOT, OR OTHER FORM OF EARLY VOTING IN Q.2b.)

2c. And have you already voted, do you plan to vote in the next few days, or will you wait until closer to the November second election? +

Have already voted	4	[146]
Will vote in next few days	7	
Will vote closer to November second election	4	
Not sure	1	
Voting In Person/Depends/Not Sure (Q.2b)	84	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

3. All in all, do you think that things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

Headed in the right direction Off on the wrong track Mixed (VOL) Not sure	10/04+ 39 48 10 3	9/04+ 39 49 10 2	8/04+ 36 50 12 2	7/04+ 36 48 14 2	6/04+ 36 48 14 2	5/04+ 33 50 14 3	High 9/01 72 11 11 6	Low 7/92+ 14 71 9 6	[147]
		3/04+ 43 49 4	1/04 47 43 6 4	12/14/03 56 30 9 5	12/13/03 41 48 8 3	11/03 43 47 6 3	9/03 38 50 8 4	7/03 42 44 9 4	
		5/03+ 49 38 8 5	4/03 62 22 13 3	1/03 36 47 14 3	12/02 43 42 13 2	10/02+ 44 42 14	9/02 42 43 12 3	7/02 40 42 14 4	
		6/02 52 31 14 3	4/02 53 28 15 4	1/02 62 20 14 4	12/01 70 15 12 3	9/01 72 11 11 6	6/01 43 39 14 4	4/01 47 39 11 3	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

4. How much difference do you think it will make in the lives of you and your family who wins this year's presidential election--a great deal, quite a bit, just some, or very little?

	<u>10/04</u>	<u>10/96</u>	<u>7/96</u>	<u>5/92</u>	
	+	+			
A great deal of difference	45	21	19	28	[148
					]
Quite a bit of difference	27	19	17	18	
Just some difference	16	28	25	25	
Very little difference	10	29	34	26	
Not sure	2	3	5	3	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job that George W. Bush is doing as president? 5a.

						High	Low	
	<u>10/04</u> +	<u>9/04</u> +	<u>8/04</u> +	<u>7/04</u> +	<u>6/04</u> +	<u>11/01</u>	<u>6/04</u> +	
Approve	49	47	47	48	45	88	45	[149]
Disapprove	47	48	48	46	49	7	49	
Not sure	4	5	5	6		5		
	' '	_	•			š		<b>;</b>
		<u>5/04</u> +	<u>3/04</u> +	<u>1/04</u>	12/14/03	12/13/03	11/03	
		47	50	54	58	52	51	
		46	46	41	34	41	44	
		7	4	6	9	7	5	
						3/29-		
		9/03	7/03	<u>5/03</u> +	<u>4/03</u>	30/03	3/23/03	
		49	56	62	71	66	67	
		45	38	31	23	29	28	
		6	6	7	6	5	5	
		J	Ü	,	Ü	J	J	
		3/17/03	<u>2/03</u> 1	<u>1/03</u>	12/02	<u>10/02</u> +	9/02	
		62	61	54	62	63	64	
		33	31	40	33	31	30	
		5	8	6	5	6	6	
		_	•			-		
		7/02	6/02	<u>5/02</u>	4/02			
		67	69	75	74			
		27	23	18	20			
		6	8	7	6			

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 1}$  Overnight poll conducted after Colin Powell's speech to the United Nations. + Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

5b. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job that George W. Bush is doing in handling the economy?

Approve Disapprove Not sure	10/04+ 45 52 3	9/04+ 45 51 4	8/04+ 43 52 5	6/04+ 45 49 6	5/04+ 41 53 6	3/04+ 46 51 3	1/04 49 45 6	[150]
		12/13/03 48 46 6	11/03 50 44 5	<u>9/03</u> 43 52 6	7/03 45 48 7	<u>5/03</u> + 47 45 8	4/03 49 42 9	
		<u>1/03</u> 44 49 7	12/02 47 45 8	10/02+ 48 44 8	9/02 48 43 9	7/02 49 43 8	6/02 57 34 9	
		4/02 61 30 9	1/02 63 27 10	12/01 63 25 12	6/01 50 38 12			

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

5c. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job that George W. Bush is doing in handling our foreign

Approve Disapprove Not sure	10/04+* 48 46 6	9/04+ 44 51 5	8/04+ 44 52 4	6/04+ 44 52 4	<u>5/04</u> + 43 51 6	3/04+ 47 49 4	1/04 54 41 5	12/14/03 56 37 7	[151]
	12/13/03 48 47 5	11/03 48 48 4	9/03 47 46 7	7/03 55 39 6	5/03+ 63 31 6	4/03 70 24 6	1/03 51 42 7	12/02 57 36 7	
	10/02+ 58 35 7	9/02 55 34 11	7/02 62 28 10	6/02 64 28 8	4/02 68 26 6	1/02 81 13 6	12/01 82 12 6	6/01 50 32 18	

5d. When it comes to dealing with the war on terrorism, do you approve or disapprove of the job George W. Bush is doing?

Approve Disapprove Not sure	10/04+** 50 46 4	9/04+ 52 43 5	8/04+ 53 42 5	6/04+ 48 47 5	1/04 63 31 6	12/14/03 66 27 7	12/13/03 56 38 5	[152]
		11/03 56 39 5	9/03 60 34 6	7/03 66 28 6	1/03 64 28 8	12/02 66 27 7	9/02 67 26 7	
		7/02 73 22 5	6/02 75 20 5	<u>5/02</u> 75 18 7	4/02 76 19 5			

<sup>\*\*</sup> Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

Looking ahead to the upcoming presidential election, do you feel that George W. Bush deserves to be 6. reelected, or do you feel that he does not deserve to be reelected?

	<u>10/04</u> +	<u>9/04</u> +	<u>8/04</u> +	<u>7/04</u> +	<u>6/04</u> +	<u>5/04</u> +	
Yes, deserves to be reelected	48	47	46	46	45	45	[153]
No, does not deserve to be reelected	47	48	50	47	50	49	
Not sure	5	5	4	7	5	6	
			<u>3/04</u> +	<u>1/04</u>	<u>12/14/03</u>	<u>12/13/03</u>	
			49	51	52	47	
			48	42	38	46	
			4	7	11	7	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

<sup>\*</sup> Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A). + Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

7. Now I'm going to read you the names of several public figures and organizations, and I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so.

	Very <u>Positive</u>	Somewhat <u>Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	Somewhat <u>Negative</u>	Very <u>Negative</u>	Don't Know Name/ <u>Not Sure</u>	
George W. Bush							[154]
October 2004+	36	14	6	13	31	-	
September 2004+	36	13	6	12	33	-	
August 2004+	33	16	8	12	31	-	
July 2004+	29	19	8	13	30	1	
June 2004+	33	15	8	14	30	-	
May 2004+	30	19	8	13	30	-	
March 2004+	35	17	6	13	29	-	
January 2004	38	17	8	13	24	-	
December 13, 2003	35	19	8	15	23	-	
September 2003	35	17	9	15	23	1	
July 2003	38	21	9	14	17	-	
January 2003	36	20	12	16	16	-	
December 2002	38	24	14	12	12	-	
October 2002+	37	24	11	12	15	1	
April 2002	47	25	13	8	7	-	
July 2000+	24	28	14	14	18	2	
High					***************************************		
December 2001	54	26	9	6	5	-	
Low							
March 2000+	19	26	21	15	17	2	
John Kerry							[155]
October 2004+	21	23	12	14	29	1	
September 2004+	18	25	14	14	28	1	
August 2004+	21	23	14	13	27	2	
July 2004+	17	25	21	16	19	2	
June 2004+	13	27	21	14	21	4	
May 2004+	12	26	19	16	22	5	
March 2004+	15	28	20	12	18	6	
January 2004	5	17	25	16	10	29	
December 13, 2003	3	18	20	13	11	36	
December 2002	5	14	25	8	5	43	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

Q.7 (cont'd)	Very <u>Positive</u>	Somewhat <u>Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	Somewhat <u>Negative</u>	Very <u>Negative</u>	Don't Know Name/ <u>Not Sure</u>	
Dick Cheney							[156]
October 2004+	24	20	12	11	31	2	
September 2004+	21	20	13	12	31	3	
August 2004+	18	20	16	12	30	4	
July 2004+	16	20	19	14	28	3	
June 2004+	17	22	17	13	27	4	
May 2004+	18	21	16	13	29	3	
March 2004+	18	21	17	14	23	6	
December 13, 2003	18	24	14	13	23	8	
May 2003+	24	23	18	10	16	8	
January 2003	20	27	23	12	13	5	
September 2002	23	27	21	12	12	5	
July 2002	24	28	19	10	13	6	
December 2001	36	27	23	3	6	5	
April 2001	31	21	22	10	9	7	
January 2001	23	26	26	9	7	9	
July 2000+	19	23	26	9	6	17	
High							
February 1991+	33	33	13	2	2	17	
Low							
July 2004+	16	20	19	14	28	3	
John Edwards							[160]
October 2004+	18	24	21	13	20	4	
September 2004+	20	21	21	14	17	7	
August 2004+	19	22	25	15	13	6	
July 2004+	18	26	26	12	8	10	
June 2004+	10	22	29	11	4	24	
March 2004	12	24	27	14	6	17	
January 2004	4	12	24	8	6	45	
December 13, 2003	3	14	21	8	5	49	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

Q.7 (cont'd)						Don't Know	
	Very <u>Positive</u>	Somewhat <u>Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	Somewhat <u>Negative</u>	Very <u>Negative</u>	Name/ Not Sure	
The Republican Party							[159]
October 2004+	20	24	18	15	22	1	
September 2004+	21	22	16	18	22	1	
August 2004+	18	26	17	16	22	1	
July 2004+	18	25	20	18	18	1	
September 2003	17	26	17	19	18	3	
July 2003	18	30	16	16	16	3	
December 2002	21	26	22	15	14	2	
September 2002	15	30	26	13	13	3	
December 2001	21	36	18	13	9	3	
December 2000	18	26	23	14	18	1	
July 2000+	15	28	24	16	15	2	
June 1996+	11	25	25	21	16	2	
High		***************************************					
December 2001	21	36	18	13	9	3	
Low							
March 1999	1	22	23	19	23	2	
The Democratic Party	••••••		1			15.000000000000000000000000000000000000	[157]
October 2004+	17	25	22	16	19	1	
September 2004+	16	26	20	18	19	1	
August 2004+	17	24	23	16	19	1	
July 2004+	16	25	24	19	14	2	
September 2003	11	29	22	19	16	3	
July 2003	11	25	25	20	16	3	
December 2002	13	27	27	16	15	2	
September 2002	12	26	30	17	12	3	
December 2001	18	30	26	14	9	3	
December 2000	23	23	18	16	18	2	
July 2000+	19	27	24	15	14	1	
June 1996+	17	29	23	15	15	1	
High							
January 2000	20	30	23	15	10	2	
Low							
December 1994	10	23	25	24	16	2	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

Q.7 (cont'd)	Very <u>Positive</u>	Somewhat <u>Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	Somewhat <u>Negative</u>	Very <u>Negative</u>	Don't Know Name/ <u>Not Sure</u>	
Bill Clinton							[158]
October 2004+	26	22	13	11	27	1	
September 2004+	27	21	15	12	25	-	
July 2004+	22	20	15	14	28	1	
June 2004+	20	22	16	14	27	1	
January 2002	17	19	13	13	36	2	
June 2001	18	21	15	15	31	-	
April 2001	20	20	15	11	34	-	
March 2001	17	17	13	14	38	1	
January 2001	32	24	11	12	21	-	
December 2000	33	23	11	12	21	-	
Likely voters November 2000+	22	20	11	11	35	1	
Likely voters October 2000+	25	23	8	12	32	-	
September 2000+	25	25	10	13	27	-	
August 2000+	24	22	11	13	30	-	
July 2000+	22	27	11	12	28	-	
High							
January 1993	33	31	15	9	7	5	
Low							
March 2001	17	17	13	14	38	1	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

8a. What is your preference for the outcome of the upcoming congressional elections—a Congress controlled by Republicans or a Congress controlled by Democrats?

Republican-controlled Congress  Democrat-controlled Congress  Not sure <sup>2</sup>	10/04+   43 43 14	9/04+ 42 46 12	6/04+ 42 44 14	5/04+ 41 44 15	3/04+ 42 45 13	1/04 42 43 15	12/13/03 42 42 42 16	[161]
	10/02+ 43 42	<u>9/02</u> 42 42	7/02 43 41	6/02 42 41	<u>1/02</u> 44 40	12/01 42 40	<u>12/99</u> 40 44	
	15	16	16	17	16	18	16	
	10/99	<u>7/99</u>	<u>6/99</u>	<u>4/99</u>	3/99	<u>10/98</u> +	9/98	
	39	39	42	41	37	41	40	
	41	43	41	40	43	43	39	
	20	18	17	19	20	16	21	
	<u>7/98</u>	6/98	<u>4/98</u>	<u>2/98</u>	<u>1/98</u>	12/97	<u>9/97</u>	
	41	39	37	41	40	41	41	
	40	40	41	37	42	37	39	
	19	21	22	22	18	22	20	
	<u>7/97</u>	<u>4/97</u>	<u>1/96</u>	12/95	10/94 <sup>1</sup>			
	45	44	41	42	44			
	39	38	38	41	38			
	16	18	21	17	18			

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$  In October 1994, the question referred to the 1994 congressional elections; the 1995 and 1996 survey dates referred to the 1996 congressional elections; the 1997 and 1998 dates refer to the 1998 congressional elections.

8b. In the upcoming election for U.S. Congress, do you feel that your representative deserves to be reelected, or do you think it is time to give a new person a chance?

Deserves to be reelected Give new person a chance Not sure	10/04+ 49 34 17	10/02+ 42 39 19	9/02 41 42 17	10/00+ 50 35 15	9/00+ 49 38 13	6/00+ 49 39 12	12/99 42 47 11	10/98+ 48 37 15	[162]
		<u>12/97</u> +	<u> 10/94</u> +	9/94	<u>5/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	10/93	<u>9/93</u>	
		41	39	30	34	35	34	37	
		45	49	53	50	47	52	47	
		14	12	17	16	18	14	16	
		7/02	10/02 :	0/02 :	7/02 :	4/02 :	2/02		
		<u>7/93</u> 30	<u>10/92</u> + 31	<u>9/92</u> + 31	<u>7/92</u> +	<u>4/92</u> + 33	<u>2/92</u> + 37		
		55	56	56	27 62	53 57	52		
						_			
		15	13	13	11	10	11		
		<u>1/92</u> +	<u>12/91</u> +	<u>10/91</u> +	<u>10/90</u> +	<u>11/89</u> +			
		42	35	40	39	41			
		48	52	48	48	36			
		10	13	12	13	23			

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The volunteered responses "both equal," "neither in control," or "doesn't matter," were reported separately; for purposes of comparative they are combined with "not sure."

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

9a. If the election for president were held today, and George W. Bush and Dick Cheney were the Republican candidates, John Kerry and John Edwards were the Democratic candidates, and Ralph Nader and Peter Camejo were running as independent candidates, for whom would you vote? (IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean at this time?

		AL Vote	_			rely ters		
	10/04+	9/04+	8/04+	7/04+	10/04+	9/04+	Īī	
George W. Bush and Dick Cheney	47	46	44	44	47	48		[163]
George W. Bush and Dick Cheney (lean)	1	2	3	3	1	2		
John Kerry and John Edwards	44	42	42	40	46	44	CONTINUE	
John Kerry and John Edwards (lean)	2	3	3	5	2	2		
Ralph Nader and Peter Camejo	2	1	2	2	1	1		
Ralph Nader and Peter Camejo (lean)	-	1	1	-	-	-		
Depends (VOL)	-	-	-	-	-	-	Skip to	
None/other (VOL)	1	1	1	1	1	1	Q.9c	
Not sure	3	4	4	5	2	2		

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

	<u>6/04</u> +	<u>5/04</u> +	<u>3/04</u> +
George W. Bush	45	46	46
John Kerry	44	42	43
Ralph Nader	4	5	5
Depends (VOL)	1	1	1
None/other (VOL)	1	1	2
Not sure	5	5	3
+ Results shown reflect responses among re	aistered vo	oters.	

# (ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO MAKE A CHOICE IN Q.9a.)

9b. Would you definitely vote for (CANDIDATES CHOSEN IN Q.9a), probably vote for (CANDIDATES CHOSEN IN Q.9a) but are still thinking about it, or are you just leaning toward voting for (CANDIDATES CHOSEN IN Q.9a)?

		Bush-C Vote	-						
	<u>10/04</u> +	<u>9/04</u> +	<u>8/04</u> +	<u>7/04</u> +	10/04+	9/04+	<u>8/04</u> +	<u>7/04</u> +	
Definitely vote for ticket	91	83	81	75	84	79	76	72	[164]
Probably vote for ticket	5	9	10	16	8	11	13	14	
Just leaning toward voting for ticket	4	8	9	9	8	9	11	13	
Not sure	-	-	-	-	İ -	1	-	1	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

	В	ush Vote	rs	Kerry Voters			
	<u>6/04</u> +	<u>5/04</u> +	<u>3/04</u> +	<u>6/04</u> +	<u>5/04</u> +	<u>3/04</u> +	
Definitely vote for candidate	80	78	81	64	65	70	
Probably vote for candidate	11	12	12	17	17	15	
Just leaning toward voting for							
candidate	8	10	7	19	18	15	
Not sure	1	-	-	-	-	-	
+ Results shown reflect responses among re	gistered vo	oters.					

#### (ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO DO NOT CHOOSE KERRY/EDWARDS IN Q.9a.)

9c. Even though you are not supporting John Kerry and John Edwards now, what are the chances that you might support them in the upcoming election—is there a fair chance that you might support them, a small chance, just a very slight chance, or no chance at all you might support them?

	<u>10/04</u> +	<u>9/04</u> +	<u>8/04</u> +	<u>7/04</u> +	
Fair chance	9	9	10	12	[165]
A small chance	7	8	10	9	
Just a very slight chance	11	15	18	21	
No chance at all	72	66	61	56	
Don't know/refused	1	2	1	2	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

#### (ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO DO NOT CHOOSE BUSH/CHENEY IN Q.9a.)

9d. Even though you are not supporting George W. Bush and Dick Cheney now, what are the chances that you might support them in the upcoming election—is there a fair chance that you might support them, a small chance, just a very slight chance, or no chance at all you might support them?

	<u>10/04</u> +	<u>9/04</u> +	<u>8/04</u> +	<u>7/04</u> +	
Fair chance	5	5	6	8	[166]
A small chance	8	9	8	8	
Just a very slight chance	12	12	14	18	
No chance at all	74	73	71	65	
Don't know/refused	1	1	1	1	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

#### (ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO CHOOSE KERRY/EDWARDS IN Q.9a.)

9e. Would you say that your vote is more FOR John Kerry or more AGAINST George W. Bush?

	<u>10/04</u> +	<u>9/04</u> +	
More for John Kerry	37	36	[167]
More against George W. Bush	48	51	
Some of both (VOL)	14	12	
Not sure	1	1	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

# (ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO CHOOSE BUSH/CHENEY IN Q.9a.)

9f. Would you say that your vote is more FOR George W. Bush or more AGAINST John Kerry?

	<u>10/04</u> +	<u>9/04</u> +	
More for George W. Bush	74	77	[168]
More against John Kerry	16	14	
Some of both (VOL)	9	7	
Not sure	1	2	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

10. And if the election for president were held today, and George W. Bush and Dick Cheney were the Republican candidates and John Kerry and John Edwards were the Democratic candidates, for whom would you vote?

	<u>10/04</u> +	<u>9/04</u> +	
George W. Bush and Dick Cheney	49	49	[169]
John Kerry and John Edwards	47	46	
Depends (VOL)	1	1	
Other (VOL)	-	-	
None/will not vote (VOL)	-	-	
Not sure	3	4	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

	<u>6/04</u> +	<u>5/04</u> +	<u>3/04</u> +	<u>1/04</u>	7/03	5/03	<u>1/03</u>
George W. Bush	47	48	48	54	49	55	48
John Kerry	47	45	45	35	34	27	31
Depends (VOL)	1	1	1	2	1	2	4
Other (VOL)	-	-					
None/will not vote (VOL)	1	2	{2	{3	{6	{6	{3
Not sure	4	4	4	6	9	11	14
+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.							

11. Which of the following best describes how you would feel if **(READ ITEM)** were elected president in November--optimistic and confident that he would do a good job, satisfied and hopeful that he would do a good job, uncertain and wondering whether he would do a good job, or pessimistic and worried that he would do a bad job? +

	<u>Optimisti</u> <u>C</u>	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Uncertain</u>	<u>Pessimistic</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
George W. Bush	31	20	13	35	1	[170]
John Kerry	23	25	24	27	1	[171]

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

	<u>Optimisti</u>	Satisfied	<u>Uncertain</u>	Pessimistic	Not Sure
	<u>C</u>				
George W. Bush					
October 2000+	27	29	24	19	1
Al Gore					
October 2000+	22	30	23	24	1
+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.					

	Optimistic	Satisfied	<u>Uncertain</u>	Pessimistic	Not Sure
Bob Dole					
October 1996+	21	24	32	20	3
September 1996+	20	26	31	21	2
Bill Clinton					
October 1996+	28	31	21	19	1
September 1996+	23	33	24	19	1
+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.					

12. In the upcoming election for president, how likely do you think it is that each of the following may occurvery likely, somewhat likely, not that likely, or not likely at all? +

	Very Likely To <u>Occur</u>	Somewhat Likely To <u>Occur</u>	Not That Likely To <u>Occur</u>	Not Likely At All To <u>Occur</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
The vote you cast will not be counted or correctly recorded	9	15	22	53	1	[172]
People who are eligible to vote will be prevented from doing so because of technicalities of election law	11	26	24	35	4	[173/175]
People who are NOT eligible to vote will do so anyway *	12	26	25	33	4	[174]
Computerized voting in some states means that there will be an increased chance of miscounting votes or tampering with election results **	19	29	22	25	5	[176]
tumporing with election results	-5	23		25	3	[=10]

<sup>\*</sup> Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

13. Within the past thirty days have you been directly contacted at your home, either by telephone or in person, by one of the political parties or presidential campaigns? (IF "YES," ASK:) Were you contacted by the Republican Party or George W. Bush's campaign or the Democratic Party or John Kerry's campaign? +

Yes, Contacted	31	
Republican Party/Bush campaign	9	[177]
Democratic Party/Kerry campaign	9	
Both (VOL)	10	
Do not remember who contacted by (VOL)	3	
No, Not Contacted	68	
Not Sure	1	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

Have you seen, read, or heard anything in the past couple weeks about George W. Bush or his campaign for president? (IF "YES," ASK:) Has what you have heard given you a more favorable or less favorable impression of George W. Bush?

	<u> 10/04</u> +	<u>9/04</u> +	
Yes—more favorable	31	26	[178]
Yes—less favorable	36	30	
Yes—no difference (VOL)	27	33	
No, have not seen/read/heard anything	5	10	
Not sure	1	1	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

14b. Have you seen, read, or heard anything in the past couple weeks about John Kerry or his campaign for president? (IF "YES," ASK:) Has what you have heard given you a more favorable or less favorable impression of John Kerry?

	<u>10/04</u> +	<u>9/04</u> +	
Yes—more favorable	38	23	[179]
Yes—less favorable	35	35	
Yes—no difference (VOL)	22	28	
No, have not seen/read/heard anything	4	13	
Not sure	1	1	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

15a. Have the presidential debates made you more likely to support George W. Bush, more likely to support John Kerry, or have they not made a difference in how you are going to vote? +

More likely to support George W. Bush	17	CONTINUE	[180]
More likely to support John Kerry	33		
Made no difference	48	Skip to Q.16	
Not sure	2		

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

	<u>10/00</u> +
More likely to support George W. Bush	25
More likely to support Al Gore	18
Made no difference	55
Not sure	2
+ Results shown reflect responses among registered vo	ters.

#### (FORM B--ASK ONLY ON FIRST NIGHT OF INTERVIEWING.)

15b. Why do you say that? What did you see or hear in the debates that makes you (RESPONSE GIVEN IN Q.15a)?

Please see verbatim	responses

## (ASK ONLY ON SECOND NIGHT OF INTERVIEWING.)

15b. What is your biggest concern about John Kerry being president?

#### Please see verbatim responses

16. If President Bush were to win reelection, would you want his second term to be a lot like his first term, would you want him to make minor adjustments and modifications, or would you want him to make major changes?

	<u> 10/04</u> +	<u>9/04</u> +	
Second term should be a lot like first term	7	9	[215]
Should make minor modifications/			
adjustments in second term	35	31	
Should make major changes in second term	55	58	
Not sure	3	2	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

17. From what you have seen or heard, do you feel that either of the candidates for president is running a negative campaign? (IF "YES," ASK:) Which candidate do you think is running a negative campaign—George W. Bush or John Kerry? +

Yes, George W. Bush is running a negative campaign	15	[216]
Yes, John Kerry is running a negative campaign	15	
Yes, both are running negative campaigns (VOL)	45	
No, neither is running a negative campaign	23	
Not sure	2	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

18a. I'm going to read you four criticisms that George W. Bush has made about John Kerry. For each one, please tell me whether the criticism is serious enough to give you concerns about electing John Kerry as president, or NOT serious enough to give you concerns about electing John Kerry as president. +

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY SERIOUS ENOUGH TO GIVE CONCERNS

	Serious Enough To Give Concerns	NOT Serious Enough To Give Concerns	Not <u>Sure</u>	
He changes his positions on issues too often	52	46	2	[218]
He will raise taxes	51	47	2	[220]
He is too liberal on the issues	44	54	2	[217]
He would not be an effective commander-in-chief	43	54	3	[219]

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

18b. I'm going to read you four criticisms that John Kerry has made about George W. Bush. For each one, please tell me whether the criticism is serious enough to give you concerns about reelecting George W. Bush as president, or NOT serious enough to give you concerns about reelecting George W. Bush as president. +

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY SERIOUS ENOUGH TO GIVE CONCERNS

	Serious Enough To Give Concerns	NOT Serious Enough To Give Concerns	Not <u>Sure</u>	
He has not focused enough on domestic issues, such as health care and the economy	55	44	1	[222]
His tax cuts mostly benefited the wealthy	52	46	2	[224]
He misled the American people about why we went to war in Iraq	52	47	1	[223]
He is unwilling to admit mistakes	51	47	2	[221]

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

19a. Some people say that George W. Bush is too rigid and is unwilling to admit mistakes or make changes. How much does this concern you about George W. Bush—a great deal, quite a bit, just some, or not very much? +

Concerns a great deal	32	[225]
Concerns quite a bit	12	
Concerns just some	19	
Does not concern very much	28	
Does not concern at all (VOL)	9	
Not sure	-	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

19b. Some people say that John Kerry's personality and personal style are too aloof and distant and that he does not relate well to the average person. How much does this concern you about John Kerry--a great deal, quite a bit, just some, or not very much? +

Concerns a great deal	19	[226]
Concerns quite a bit	9	
Concerns just some	21	
Does not concern very much	35	
Does not concern at all (VOL)	15	
Not sure	1	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

20. There are many important issues in this presidential campaign. When it comes to deciding for whom you will vote for president, which one of the following is the single most important issue in deciding for whom you will vote? (IF "ALL," ASK:) Well, if you had to choose the most important issue, which would you choose?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

	<u>10/04</u> +	<u>9/04</u> +	
The economy	26	28	
Terrorism	25	23	[227]
The war in Iraq	22	20	
Social issues and values	14	12	
Health care	10	13	
None/other (VOL)	1	2	
Not sure	2	2	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

21. Please tell me which of the two following sets of issues is more important to you in deciding for whom you will vote in the presidential election?

Set A: Terrorism and social issues and values

Set B: The economy and health care

	<u> 10/04</u> +	<u>9/04</u> +	
Set A/terrorism and values more important	50	44	[228]
<b>Set B</b> /economy and health care more important	39	44	
Both equally important (VOL)	11	11	
Not sure	-	1	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

Which one of the following should be the top foreign policy priority for the next president? (IF "ALL," 22. ASK:) Well, if you had to choose just one, which would it be?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

	<u>10/04</u> +**	<u>1/04</u> <sup>1</sup>	<u>5/03</u>	
The problem of nuclear weapons in North Korea and Iran	32	17	24	[229]
Rebuilding Iraq	20	13	8	
Peace negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians	12	16	21	
Dealing with China as a growing super power	11	NA	NA	
Dealing with the genocide in Sudan	6	NA	NA	
All equally important (VOL)	13	13	12	
None of these (VOL)	2	3	3	
Not sure	4	4	5	

<sup>\*\*</sup> Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

Regardless of who you are voting for, when it comes to (READ ITEM) campaign, would you say that they 23. have a message and you know what they would do if elected, or would you say that they do NOT have a message and you do NOT know what they would do if elected?

	Have A Message/Know What They Would Do If <u>Elected</u>	Do Not Have A Message/Do Not Know What They Would Do If Elected	Some Of Both (VOL)	Not <u>Sure</u>	
John Kerry's and John Edward's					[230]
October 2004+	51	41	5	3	
September 2004+	36	54	6	4	
George W. Bush's and Dick Cheney's					[231]
October 2004+	76	20	3	1	
September 2004+	68	23	5	4	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Prior to October 2004, the question was phrased, "Which of the following should be the top foreign policy priority for President Bush and his administration?"

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

24. Now I'd like you to compare George W. Bush and John Kerry on a few issues. For each one, please tell me whether you think that George W. Bush or John Kerry would be better on that issue. If you think that both would be equally good or that neither would be good on a particular issue, just say so.

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY GEORGE W. BUSH BETTER

	George W. Bush <u>Better</u>	John Kerry <u>Better</u>	Both Would Be Equally <u>Good</u>	Neither Would Be <u>Good</u>	Depends (VOL)	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Terrorism and homeland security							[237/244]
October 2004+	52	29	12	5	-	2	
September 2004+	54	28	8	5	1	4	
The war in Iraq							[234/241]
October 2004+	50	37	5	6	-	2	
September 2004+	49	35	5	7	-	4	
May 2004	46	38	4	6	1	5	
Issues related to moral values							[235/242]
October 2004+	47	29	17	5	-	2	
September 2004+	47	31	13	5	1	3	
May 2004	45	25	16	5	-	9	
Taxes							[236/243]
October 2004+	43	37	8	8	1	3	
September 2004+	45	37	7	6	1	4	
May 2004	40	35	10	6	1	8	
Same-sex marriage							[245]
October 2004+ **	37	33	11	12	1	6	
September 2004+	39	34	7	9	2	9	
May 2004	39	29	8	10	1	13	
Jobs and unemployment							[232/239]
October 2004+	32	48	11	6	-	3	
September 2004+	32	48	10	5	-	5	
May 2004	28	48	12	5	-	7	
Health care							[233/240]
October 2004+	28	51	10	7	-	4	
September 2004+	29	48	9	7	1	6	
May 2004	27	41	15	7	-	10	
Stem cell research							[238]
October 2004+ *	27	49	7	6	1	10	
September 2004+	24	47	6	8	1	14	

<sup>\*</sup> Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

25a. How much confidence would you have in John Kerry as commander-in-chief—a great deal, quite a bit, just some, or very little?

	<u>10/04</u> +*	<u>9/04</u> +	<u>8/04</u> +	<u>5/04</u> +	
A great deal of confidence	22	23	16	16	[246]
Quite a bit of confidence	22	18	19	18	
Just some confidence	19	19	25	30	
Very little confidence	29	31	29	31	
No confidence at all (VOL)	7	7	9	NA	
Not sure	1	2	2	5	

<sup>\*</sup> Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

25b. How much confidence do you have in George W. Bush as commander-in-chief—a great deal, quite a bit, just some, or very little?

	<u>10/04</u> +*	<u>9/04</u> +	<u>8/04</u> +	<u>5/04</u> +	
A great deal of confidence	31	31	30	19	[247]
Quite a bit of confidence	20	17	17	24	
Just some confidence	14	16	17	29	
Very little confidence	25	24	35	16	
No confidence at all (VOL)	9	11	NA	NA	
Not sure	1	1	1	12	

<sup>\*</sup> Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

In April 1999, the question was phrased, "How much confidence would you have in George Bush as commander in chief during this period of military action. . ."

26a. How much confidence would you have in John Kerry in protecting the United States and responding to terrorist threats--a great deal, guite a bit, just some, or very little?

	<u>10/04</u> +**	<u>9/04</u> +	
A great deal of confidence	26	22	[248]
Quite a bit of confidence	20	19	
Just some confidence	21	22	
Very little confidence	26	28	
No confidence at all (VOL)	7	7	
Not sure	-	2	

<sup>\*\*</sup> Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

26b. How much confidence do you have in George W. Bush in protecting the United States and responding to terrorist threats--a great deal, quite a bit, just some, or very little?

	<u>10/04</u> +**	<u>9/04</u> +	
A great deal of confidence	41	42	[249]
Quite a bit of confidence	24	22	
Just some confidence	16	16	
Very little confidence	13	14	
No confidence at all (VOL)	6	6	
Not sure	_	-	

<sup>\*\*</sup> Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

27. Now I'd like you to compare George W. Bush and John Kerry on a few qualities that people might look for in a president. For each one, please tell me whether you think that George W. Bush would be better or John Kerry would be better on that item. If you think that both would be equally good or that neither would be good on a particular item, just say so. Who do you think would be better when it comes to **(READ ITEM)**—George W. Bush or John Kerry, or do you think that both would be equally good or neither would be good?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY GEORGE W. BUSH BETTER

	George W. Bush <u>Better</u>	John Kerry <u>Better</u>	Both Would Be Equally <u>Good</u>	Neither Would Be <u>Good</u>	Depends (VOL)	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Being consistent and standing up for his beliefs					, ,		[254]
October 2004+ *	57	19	20	3	-	1	
September 2004+	55	27	12	5	-	1	
May 2004+	54	21	17	5	-	3	
Having the strong leadership qualities needed to be president							[252]
October 2004+ *	48	33	15	2	-	2	
September 2004+	46	34	14	4	-	2	
May 2004+	43	32	18	3	1	3	
Being easygoing and likable							[253]
October 2004+ *	47	27	18	5	-	3	
September 2004+	45	28	18	7	-	2	
May 2004+	44	29	16	6	-	5	
Being religious and a man of strong faith							[251/257]
October 2004+	46	21	24	5	-	4	
Having high personal standards that set the proper moral tone for the country							[258]
October 2004+ **	43	29	21	5	-	2	
September 2004+	42	32	18	6	-	2	
May 2004+	44	29	19	4	1	3	
Being a world leader in dealing with other countries							[259]
October 2004+ **	43	42	8	5	-	2	
September 2004+	44	41	8	4	-	3	
May 2004+	42	35	8	6	1	8	
Being honest and straightforward							[250/256]
October 2004+	40	36	11	11	-	2	
September 2004+	39	36	8	14	-	3	
May 2004+	36	33	12	13	1	5	
Being compassionate enough to understand average people							[255]
October 2004+ *	38	39	13	7	-	3	
September 2004+	35	43	11	9	-	2	
May 2004+	33	39	16	8	-	4	

<sup>\*</sup> Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

<sup>\*\*</sup> Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

Q.27 (cont'd)	George W. Bush <u>Better</u>	John Kerry <u>Better</u>	Both Would Be Equally <u>Good</u>	Neither Would Be <u>Good</u>	Depends (VOL)	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Being smart and intelligent							[260]
October 2004+ **	24	46	25	3	-	2	
September 2004+	28	39	24	5	1	3	
May 2004+	25	39	29	4	-	3	

I'm going to read you several things that could possibly happen over the next couple years. For each one, please tell me whether you think that it is more likely to happen if George W. Bush is president, more likely 28. to happen if John Kerry is president, equally likely to happen no matter who is president, or that it will NOT happen no matter who is president. +

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY MORE LIKELY IF BUSH IS PRESIDENT

	More Likely If Bush Is <u>President</u>	More Likely If Kerry Is <u>President</u>	Equally Likely No Matter Who Is <u>President</u>	Will Not Happen No Matter Who Is <u>President</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
The United States will continue its commitment to Iraq and not leave until Iraq is secure *	56	8	28	6	2	[264]
Moral and religious values in the country will be improved **	34	16	21	22	7	[266]
The economy will show real growth	31	37	19	9	4	[261/265]
Federal taxes will be increased on the middle class *	25	37	24	10	4	[263]
The country will become more united **	24	33	17	22	4	[267]
The United States will be able to reduce the number of troops in Iraq more quickly **	21	46	15	14	4	[268]
More Americans will have health insurance *	15	49	17	14	5	[262]

<sup>\*</sup> Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

<sup>\*\*</sup> Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B). + Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).
+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

29. When it comes to **(READ ITEM)** has the Bush administration lived up to your expectations or has it fallen short? +

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY LIVED UP TO EXPECTATIONS

	Lived Up To Expectations	Fallen <u>Short</u>	Some Of Both (VOL)	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Moral values *	57	34	4	5	[270]
Fighting terrorism *	54	39	4	3	[269]
Taxes **	48	45	5	2	[275]
The economy *	37	57	4	2	[272]
The environment *	36	51	3	10	[271]
The war in Iraq **	35	60	3	2	[273]
Health care **	30	62	4	4	[274]
The federal budget deficit **	21	71	4	4	[276]

<sup>\*</sup> Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

30a. If George W. Bush were reelected, do you think terrorists would be more likely to attack the United States again, less likely to attack the United States again, or would it not make a difference in whether terrorists attack the United States again? +

More likely to attack again	20	[277]
Less likely to attack again	30	
Would not make a difference	48	
Not sure	2	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

30b. If John Kerry were elected, do you think that terrorists would be more likely to attack the United States again, less likely to attack the United States again, or would it not make a difference in whether terrorists attack the United States again? +

More likely to attack again	29	[278]
Less likely to attack again	16	
Would not make a difference	51	
Not sure	4	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

31. Using a scale from one to five, please tell me how important the candidates' positions on **(READ ITEM)** are when it comes to deciding how you will vote in the election for president. On this scale, a "5" means that the candidates' positions on that issue are critical to deciding your vote, and a "1" means that the candidates' positions on that issue are not at all important in your decision. For each issue you may use any number from one to five, depending on how important it is in your decision. +

	Critica Import				lot That portant	Cannot	
	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>Rate</u>	
Gay marriage	35	10	15	8	30	2	[279]
Stem cell research	37	14	24	9	13	3	[280]

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

32a. Would you favor or oppose an amendment to the United States Constitution that defines marriage as a union only between a man and a woman and makes same-sex marriages unconstitutional? (IF "FAVOR"

<sup>\*\*</sup> Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

**OR "OPPOSE," ASK:)** Would you say that you strongly (favor/oppose) this, or just somewhat (favor/oppose) this?

	<u>10/04</u> +	<u>7/04</u> +	<u>6/04</u> +	5/04+1	<u>3/04</u> +	12/13/03	
Favor Constitutional Amendment	47	50	51	50	54	<b>{48</b>	[308]
Strongly favor	39	42	43	42	46		
Somewhat favor	8	8	8	8	8		
Oppose Constitutional Amendment	46	44	44	44	43	<b>{44</b>	
Somewhat oppose	13	10	11	11	11		
Strongly oppose	33	34	33	33	32		
Depends (VOL)	2	2	2	2	1	2	
Not sure	5	4	3	4	3	6	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Prior to May 2004, the question was phrased, "Would you favor or would you oppose a constitutional amendment that defined marriage as a union only between a man and a woman and made same-sex marriages unconstitutional?"

32b. There is a type of medical research that involves using special cells, called stem cells, which are obtained from human embryos that were created at fertility clinics. These stem cells are then used to generate new cells that one day may be used to treat or cure many diseases. However, federal funds can ONLY be used to pay for research done on stem cells that were created before 2001.

Those OPPOSED to expanding federal research on embryonic stem cells say that it crosses an ethical line by using human embryos and that medical research can go forward using stem cells from adults.

Those IN FAVOR of expanding federal research on embryonic stem cells say that it could lead to breakthrough discoveries for many major diseases and only uses embryos that otherwise would be discarded.

Who do you agree with more--those opposed to expanding federal research on embryonic stem cells or those in favor of it? +

Agree more with those opposedAgree more with those in favor	28 62	[309]
Depends (VOL)	4	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

# Turning to some other topics . . .

Over the past twelve months, do you think that the nation's economy has gotten better, gotten worse, or 33. stayed about the same?

Economy has gotten better  Economy has gotten worse  Economy has stayed about the same  Not sure	10/04+ 30 34 35 1	9/04+ 29 36 34 1	8/04+ 29 33 37 1	7/04+ 37 31 30 2	6/04+ 39 28 31 2	5/04+ 35 33 31 1	3/04+ 35 34 29 1	[310]
		1/04 43 23 34 1	12/13/03 45 27 27 1	11/03 38 29 31 1	9/03 27 41 30 2	7/03 23 42 34 1	5/03+ 18 44 36 1	
	12/01 6 65 28 1	4/01 <sup>1</sup> 7 57 35 1	3/01 17 44 38 1	3/92 6 73 20 1	1/92 2 78 19 1	12/91 3 74 22 1	10/91 6 67 26 1	
	9/91 8 57 33 2	7/91 9 64 26 1	6/91 11 54 35	5/91 8 64 27 1	12/90 3 73 23 1	10/90 3 72 24 1	9/90 6 57 35 2	
	7/90 11 37 51 1	5/90 11 36 52 1	4/90 12 30 56 2	3/90 12 30 56 2	1/90 12 29 57 2	11/89 15 34 49 2	9/89 18 23 57 2	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Prior to April 2001, the question was phrased, "Over the past year..." + Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

34. During the next twelve months, do you think that the nation's economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

Economy will get better Economy will get worse Economy will stay about	10/04+ 43 10	9/04+ 43 13	<u>5/04</u> + 42 16	3/04+ 44 18	<u>1/04</u> 50 10	12/13/03 53 10	11/03 49 15	9/03 44 19	7/03 45 16	[311]
the same Not sure	33 14	33 11	34 8	35 3	37 3	33 3	33 3	33 4	34 4	
		5/03+ 49 17 31 3	7/03 45 16 34 4	5/03+ 49 17 31 3	1/03 35 25 37 3	12/02 40 20 35 5	10/02+ 41 20 34 5	9/02 39 18 39 4	7/02 41 20 37 2	
			4/02 50 13 32 5	12/01 50 15 32 3	4/01 <sup>1</sup> 36 25 34 5	3/01 28 29 37 6	10/98+ 17 24 54 5	9/98 19 22 53 6	4/97 19 22 57 2	
			1/96 21 21 52 6	7/95 20 21 54 5	4/95 24 23 50 3	12/94 31 17 46 6	10/94 31 24 40 5	9/94 28 24 44 4	6/94 28 17 52 3	
			5/94 27 21 49 3	3/94 29 16 52 3	1/94 44 16 36 4	12/93 43 19 34 4	10/93 21 27 50 2	9/93 23 24 51 2	7/93 20 29 48 3	
			6/93 23 27 47 3	4/93 33 21 44 2	3/93 39 15 43 3	1/93 50 9 39 2	12/92 53 10 35 2	5/92 32 20 45 3	9/91 31 24 40 5	

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 1}$  Prior to April 2001, the question was phrased, "During the next year..." + Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

35. Which of the following statements comes closer to your assessment of the United States economy?

**Statement A:** On the basis of what I see for the future, the signs point to an economy that is going to be strong--new jobs are being created, federal taxes are lower, and the stock market is going up.

**Statement B:** On the basis of what I see for the future, the signs point to an economy that is going to be in trouble--jobs are moving overseas, the budget deficit is growing, and too many jobs do not have health insurance or pensions.

	<u>10/04</u> +	7/04 <sup>1</sup> +	<u>6/04</u> +	<u>5/04</u> +	
Statement A/economy will be strong	38	31	34	31	[312]
Statement Bleconomy will be in trouble	52	58	57	60	
Some of both (VOL)	7	9	7	7	
Not sure	3	2	2	2	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Prior to October 2004, Statement A read, "On the basis of what I see for the future, the signs point to an economy that is going to be strong--jobs are being created, inflation is low, and the stock market is up."

36a. George W. Bush's economic plan is based on making the past three years' tax cuts permanent, increasing tax incentives to small businesses, and providing funding to community colleges to help with job training. How much confidence do you have that this economic plan will work--a great deal of confidence, quite a bit of confidence, just some confidence, or very little confidence? + \*

Great deal of confidence	18	[313]
Quite a bit of confidence	21	
Just some confidence	26	
Very little confidence	26	
No confidence at all (VOL)	8	
Not sure	1	

<sup>\*</sup> Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

36b. John Kerry's economic plan is based on rolling back tax cuts for upper-income households making more than two hundred thousand dollars, raising the minimum wage, and giving a tax credit to companies that create new manufacturing jobs. How much confidence do you have that this economic plan will work-a great deal of confidence, quite a bit of confidence, just some confidence, or very little confidence? + \*\*

Great deal of confidence	15	[314]
Quite a bit of confidence	22	
Just some confidence	30	
Very little confidence	26	
No confidence at all (VOL)	6	
Not sure	1	

<sup>\*\*</sup> Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

37. Do you think that the United States should or should not have taken military action to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq?

Should have taken military action Should not have taken military action Not sure	10/04+ 58 38 4	<u>9/04</u> + 55 40 5	6/04+ 56 39 5	<u>5/04</u> + 60 35 5	3/04+ 63 33 4	1/04 66 29 5	12/14/03 69 26 5	[315]
		12/13/03 66 30	11/03 63 34	<u>9/03</u> 64 33	<u>7/03</u> 69 27	<u>5/03</u> 71 24	4/03 76 17	
		4	3	4	5	5	7	
	<u>3/17/03</u> 1	<u>2/03</u> <sup>2</sup>	<u>1/03</u>	12/02	<u>10/02</u> +	9/02	<u>4/02</u> <sup>3</sup>	
	65	60	56	59	60	58	57	
	30	27	36	30	31	30	28	
	5	13	8	11	9	12	8	

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  On March 17, 2003, the question was phrased, "Do you think that the United States should or should not take..."  $^2$  Overnight poll conducted after Colin Powell's speech to the United Nations.

38. When it comes to the war in Iraq, do you think that removing Saddam Hussein from power was or was not worth the number of U.S. military casualties and the financial cost of the war?

	<u> 10/04</u> +	<u>9/04</u> +	<u>8/04</u> +	<u>7/04</u> +	<u>6/04</u> +	<u>5/04</u> +	
Worth it	41	40	43	43	40	42	[316]
Not worth it	50	52	49	47	51	47	
Depends (VOL)	4	3	4	4	5	5	
Not sure	5	5	4	6	4	6	
		<u>3/04</u> +	<u>1/04</u>	12/14/03	12/13/03	<u>11/03</u>	
		50	52	53	45	45	
		44	40	37	42	46	
		2	2	5	6	3	
		4	5	5	6	5	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> In April 2002, the question was phrased, "Do you think that the United States should or should not take military action against Iraq and Saddam Hussein?"

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

39. Please tell me whether you believe that each of the following is true or is not true.

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY TRUE

	<u>True</u>	Not <u>True</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Saddam Hussein represented a threat to the United States				[319]
October 2004+ *	63	33	4	
June 2004+	65	32	3	
America is safer with Saddam Hussein removed from power				[322]
October 2004+ **	58	38	4	
Iraq had weapons of mass destruction				[317/320]
October 2004+	41	53	6	
June 2004+	54	37	9	
Iraq was connected to the September eleventh terrorist attacks				[318/321]
October 2004+	36	53	11	
June 2004+	40	49	11	

<sup>\*</sup> Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).
\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

Which of the following are you more concerned about--why we went into Iraq and whether it was the right 40. decision, or how we resolve the situation in Iraq and get out of there? +

10	[323]
80	
7	
1	
2	
	80

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

41. And do you feel more confident or less confident that the war in Iraq will come to a successful conclusion?

	<u> 10/04</u> +	<u>9/04</u> +	
More confident	46	37	[324]
Less confident	41	53	
Depends/some of both (VOL)	8	5	
Not sure	5	5	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

42. Based on what you have seen, read, or heard over the past few weeks, do you think that the situation in Iraq is more stable and under control, or do you feel that it is less stable and out of control? + \*

More stable/under control	34	[325]
Less stable/out of control	52	
Depends/some of both (VOL)	8	
Not sure	6	

<sup>\*</sup> Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

43. When it comes to how long American troops should stay in Iraq, which of the following statements comes closest to your view?

Statement A: American troops should be withdrawn from Iraq now or as soon as possible.

**Statement B:** American troops should be withdrawn from Iraq according to a specified timetable and leave within the next eighteen months regardless of the situation at that time.

**Statement C:** American troops should stay as long as necessary to complete the process, even if it takes as long as five years.

Statement A/As soon as possible	<u>10/04</u> +** 19	6/04+ 24	<u>5/04</u> + 25	<u>3/04</u> + 23	<u>1/04</u> 19	<u>12/14/03</u> 20	[326]
Statement B/According to specified timetable, but within 18 months  Statement C/As long as necessary,	29	31	30	25	24	23	
even if five years	49	43	44	50	56	55	
Not sure	3	2	1	2	2	3	
			12/13/03	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	
			21	20	21	17	
			23	28	26	23	
			55	51	50	58	
			1	2	2	3	

<sup>\*\*</sup> Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

44. In the end, do you think that the war in Iraq will be a victory for the United States?

	<u>10/04</u> +*	<u>9/04</u> +	
Yes, will be a victory	47	41	[327]
No, will not be a victory	40	47	
Depends/some of both (VOL)	6	6	
Not sure	7	6	

<sup>\*</sup> Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

## FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

F1. Are you currently employed? (IF CURRENTLY EMPLOYED:) What type of work do you do?

(IF NOT CURRENTLY EMPLOYED:) Are you a student, a homemaker, retired, or unemployed and looking for work? +

<u>Currently Employed</u>		
Professional/ manager	22	[328-335]
White-collar worker	22	
Blue-collar worker	18	
Farmer, rancher	-	
Not Currently Employed		
Student	3	
Homemaker	7	
Retired	23	
Unemployed, looking for work	2	
Other	-	
Not sure	3	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

F2. What is the last grade that you completed in school? +

Grade school	-	[336-337]
Some high school	4	
High school graduate	25	
Some college, no degree	17	
Vocational training/2-year college	12	
4-year college/bachelor's degree	25	
Some postgraduate work, no degree	3	
2 or 3 years' postgraduate work/master's degree	9	
Doctoral/law degree	3	
Not sure/refused	2	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

F3. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an independent, or something else? (IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong (Democrat/Republican) or not a very strong (Democrat/Republican)? (IF NOT SURE, CODE AS "NOT VERY STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN.") (IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly independent? +

Strong Democrat	22	[338]
Not very strong Democrat	8	
Independent/lean Democrat	11	
Strictly independent	16	
Independent/lean Republican	9	
Not very strong Republican	7	
Strong Republican	21	
Other	4	
Not sure/nothing	2	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

F4.	Thinking about your conservative? +	general appro	ach to	issues,	do	you	consider	yourself	to b	oe l	iberal,	moderate,	, or
		Liberal Moderate					20 40	[339]					

35

Conservative.....

Not sure.....

F5. Are you currently single and never married, single and living with a partner, married, separated, widowed, or divorced? +

Single	16	[340]
Single, living with partner		
Married	59	
Separated	1	
Widowed		
Divorced	9	
Other (VOL)	-	
Not sure/refused	2	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

F5b. Are you the parent or primary guardian of any children under the age of 18? +

Yes	36	[341]
No	62	
Not sure/refused	2	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

F6a. What is your religion? +

Protestant (includes Baptist, Lutheran, Methodist, Episcopal, Presbyterian, and other Christians)	52	CONTINUE	[342]
Catholic	22		
Jewish	3	Skip to Q.F7	
Muslim	-		
Other	10		
None	9	CONTINUE	
Not sure/refused	4		

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

# (ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY ARE PROTESTANT, OTHER, NONE, OR NOT SURE IN Q.F6a.)

F6b. Would you describe yourself as either a fundamentalist or an evangelical Christian, or would you not describe yourself that way? +

Fundamentalist/evangelical	22	[343]
Neither fundamentalist nor evangelical	46	
Not sure	7	
Catholic/Jewish/Muslim (Q.F6a)	25	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

F7.	How often do you attend services at a church, synagogue, or other place of worship? +
	Never
F8.	Are you a member of a labor union? (IF "NO," ASK:) Is anyone else in this household a member of a labor union? +
	Labor union member
F9.	Please tell me whether any of the following statements applies to you. +  You or an immediate family member are currently serving in the U.S. military
F10a.	Are you from a Hispanic or Spanish-speaking background? +  Yes, Hispanic
F10b.	What is your racewhite, black, Asian, or something else? +         White

F11. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than ten thousand dollars, between ten thousand dollars and twenty thousand dollars, between thirty thousand dollars and forty thousand dollars, between forty thousand dollars and fifty thousand dollars, between fifty thousand dollars and seventy-five thousand dollars, between seventy-five thousand dollars and one hundred thousand dollars, or would the total be more than that? +

Less than \$10,000	3	[349]
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000	7	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000	9	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000	10	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000	9	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000	16	
Between \$75,000 and \$100,000	13	
More than \$100,000	17	
Not sure/refused	16	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.